

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 086211
ORIGIN NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 MCT-01 INR-10 INRE-00 SS-15
NSCE-00 IO-13 DODE-00 PM-05 SP-02 CIAE-00 ACDA-12
/081 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/RA:JMONTVILLE-NEA/AFN:JBISHOP
APPROVED BY EUR/RPM:SJLEDOGAR
M/CT:AMB. ISHAM (DRAFT)
INR/GIS:MR. BEDROSIAN (DRAFT)
NEA:MSTERNER
EUR/RPM:TMSAVAGE

-----107038 041936Z /66

O R 041822Z APR 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

S E C R E T STATE 086211

PARIS FOR MURPHY; LONDON FOR KINSOLVING

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: NATO, NAC, XF

SUBJECT: NATO EXPERTS REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE
MAGHREB

REF: (A) USNATO 3173 (NOTAL) (B) LONDON 3602 (C) USNATO
A-63 (NOTAL) (D) STATE 74861 (NOTAL) (E) STATE 77949 (NOTAL)
(F) STATE 83012 (NOTAL)

1. IN ADDITION TO REFS D AND E, DEPARTMENT HAS REPEATED
REF F (BACKGROUND BRIEFING TO SEVEN ISRAELI CORRESPONDENTS)
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FROM WHICH MISSION MAY DRAW FOR BRIEFINGS ON STATUS OF
MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY. FOLLOWING POINTS COULD BE HIGH-
LIGHTED:

-- THE REPORT OF THE EXPERTS GROUP ON THE MIDDLE EAST
AND THE MAGHREB IS COMPREHENSIVE AND, IN OUR VIEW, WAS
ESSENTIALLY ACCURATE AND FORESIGHTED AS OF A MONTH AGO
WHEN IT WAS COMPLETED.

-- WE WOULD HIGHLIGHT THE FOLLOWING POINTS ABOUT THE

MIDDLE-EAST PEACE PROCESS IN THE AFTERMATH OF EVENTS IN LEBANON AND THE BEGIN VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

-- THE TALKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT CARTER AND BEGIN WERE THE MOST PROBING AND DETAILED THEY HAVE HAD. CONVERSATION FOCUSED ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES OF WITHDRAWAL AND THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION.

-- BEGIN DID NOT GO BEYOND THE PREVIOUS ISRAELI POSITION, NOR DID WE EXPECT HE COULD DURING THIS VISIT, BUT WE BELIEVE HE WENT HOME DEEPLY AWARE THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT NOW FACES DECISIONS WHICH CANNOT BE AVOIDED.

-- CONCERNING THE APPLICABILITY OF RESOLUTION 242, THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL, INCLUDING IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, IS ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE BASIC ISSUE IS WHETHER ISRAEL WILL ULTIMATELY WITHDRAW, IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACE COMMITMENTS, SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND AGREED BORDERS AND ALLOW THE PALESTINIANS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR OWN FUTURE.

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-- THE PRESIDENT REITERATED THE US POSITION REGARDING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. WE EMPHASIZED THAT WE WOULD VIEW ANY NEW SETTLEMENTS OR EXPANSION OF EXISTING ONES WITH UTMOST SERIOUSNESS.

-- WE BELIEVE THESE MEETINGS WENT FURTHER THAN HAS EVER BEEN POSSIBLE BEFORE TOWARD GETTING DOWN TO THE REAL ISSUES. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS TIME FOR THE EFFECTS OF THIS VISIT TO BE DIGESTED IN ISRAEL. IN THIS REGARD, WE HOPE THAT ALL CONCERNED WILL AVOID ACTIONS OR STATEMENTS THAT MIGHT HINDER OR DISTRACT FROM THE REAPPRAISAL NOW UNDERWAY IN ISRAEL.

-- AS FOR THE VISIT OF DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN TO CAIRO, WE WELCOME THIS RENEWAL OF DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND BELIEVE IT SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE ISRAELIS' REAPPRAISAL.

2. FOLLOWING CAN BE USED TO UPDATE SITUATION IN SOUTH LEBANON.

-- US STRONGLY SUPPORTS RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF UNIFIL AS MEANS OF RESTORING BASIC STABILITY OF SOUTHERN LEBANON, REDUCING THREAT TO NORTHERN ISRAEL AND REESTABLISHING LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY.

-- WE HOPE TO SEE LEBANESE POLICE AND ARMY UNITS DEPLOY

IN THE SOUTH AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

-- WE ALSO HOPE TO HAVE AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE SOON.

-- FINALLY WE ARE ENCOURAGING PARTIES WITH INFLUENCE ON THE PALESTINIANS TO DO WHAT THEY CAN TO BRING ABOUT FULL PALESTINIAN COOPERATION WITH UNIFIL, COMPLIANCE WITH THE CEASEFIRE, AND AN END TO ROCKETING AND SHELLING OF ISRAEL.
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3. SOVIET UNION:

-- IN OUR VIEW THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS INTERESTED IN A SETTLEMENT PROVIDED IT IS INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS.

4. SAUDI ARABIA:

-- WE AGREE WITH THE EMPHASIS ON SAUDI ARABIA IN PARAS 20-22 OF THE REPORT. IT CONTINUES TO PLAY AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ROLE FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AFTER ITS INITIAL RESERVATIONS CONCERNING THE SADAT VISIT TO JERUSALEM LAST NOVEMBER, SAUDI ARABIA HAS MAINTAINED ITS CRUCIAL DIPLOMATIC AND FINANCIAL BACKING FOR EGYPT. IT HAS ALSO ENCOURAGED OTHER ARAB STATES TO DO THE SAME.

-- SO FAR AT LEAST, SAUDI MODERATION HAS CONTINUED IN THE VITAL AREA OF OPEC OIL PRICING AND IN ITS OWN OIL PRODUCTION POLICIES.

5. WESTERN SAHARA:

-- WITH REGARD TO THE REPORT'S DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN THE WESTERN SAHARA, WE AGREE WITH THE ASSERTION IN PARA 27 THAT THE SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE SEEMS UNLIKELY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE US REMAINS FIRM IN ITS ADVOCACY OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THE NATIONS INVOLVED TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT.

6. LIBYA: (FYI: MISSION SHOULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS TO EXTENT TIME ALLOWS. DUE TO ITS SENSITIVITY, WE CANNOT AUTHORIZE CIRCULATION OF THIS INFORMATION IN WRITTEN FORM. TO SUPPLEMENT ORAL PRESENTATION,
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HOWEVER, MISSION MAY CIRCULATE TEXT OF PAPER CONTAINED PARA 8 BELOW. END FYI)

-- WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS ABOUT LIBYA TO SUPPLEMENT THE DISCUSSIONS IN PARAS 38-41 OF

THE REPORT.

-- THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBYA CONTINUES TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO NUMEROUS TERRORIST GROUPS. THESE INCLUDE THE POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (PFLP), THE BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION (BSO), AND THE WADI HADDAD FACTION OF THE PFLP. THE LIBYANS ALSO ASSIST THE JAPANESE RED ARMY (JRA) AND THE INFAMOUS CARLOS.

-- THE FORMS OF ASSISTANCE INCLUDE FUNDS, WEAPONS, AND DIPLOMATIC COVER FOR THE MOVEMENT OF WEAPONS AND EXPLOSIVES. THE LIBYANS PROVIDE TRAINING CAMPS ON LIBYAN SOIL.

-- MEMBERS OF TERRORIST GROUPS ASSISTED BY LIBYA HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS:

- BSO MASSACRE AT MUNICH OLYMPICS, SEPTEMBER 1972;
- BSO HIJACKING OF LUFTHANSA AIRCRAFT, OCTOBER 1972;
- JRA AND BSO HIJACKING OF JAL AIRCRAFT, JULY 1973;
- FATAH HIJACKING OF AUSTRIAN TRAIN, SEPTEMBER 1973;
- PALESTINIAN HIJACKING OF BOAC AIRCRAFT, NOVEMBER 1974;
- JRA SEIZURE OF US EMBASSY AT KUALA LUMPUR, AUGUST 1975;
- CARLOS KIDNAPPING OF OPEC MINISTERS, DECEMBER 1975;

-- THIS IS BY NO MEANS AN EXHAUSTIVE LIST. THERE HAVE BEEN MORE RECENT INCIDENTS AS WELL. THE TERRORISTS WHO SEIZED THE LUFTHANSA AIRCRAFT EVENTUALLY FREED IN MOGADISCIO WERE MEMBERS OF TWO TERRORIST GROUPS SUPPORTED BY LIBYA.

-- THE LIBYANS ALSO ENGAGE IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY
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THROUGH THEIR INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. LIBYAN AGENTS HAVE PLANTED BOMBS IN EGYPT AND UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED TO ASSASSINATE SEVERAL PERSONS PROMINENT IN THE ARAB WORLD.

-- ALTHOUGH QADHAFI HAS TRIED TO PROTECT HIS IMAGE BY DENYING AND DISGUIISING HIS SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM, AS WELL AS BY REFUSING PERMISSION FOR SOME HIJACKED AIRCRAFT TO LAND IN LIBYA, THERE HAS BEEN NO STEPDOWN IN LIBYA'S ACTUAL SUPPORT.

-- ARMS SOLD THE QADHAFI GOVERNMENT CAN IN SOME INSTANCES BE TRANSFERRED TO TERRORISTS WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OR CONSENT OF THE EXPORTING NATION. MOREOVER, THE QADHAFI REGIME HAS AN ENORMOUS APPETITE FOR WEAPONS AND IS PAINED WHEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN THOSE IT DESIRES. QADHAFI ALSO RESENTS BEING TREATED AS AN OUTCAST. THE US BELIEVES THAT AN EFFECTIVE ARMS EMBARGO BY NATO MEMBERS COULD LEAD QADHAFI TO RECONSIDER REDUCING HIS SUPPORT FOR SOME TERRORIST GROUPS.

7. BOYCOTT:

-- REGARDING THE UK COMMENTS ON PARA 45 RE THE BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL, WE HAVE BEEN ADVISED BY US-ARAB CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE WHICH CERTIFY EXPORT DOCUMENTS FOR ARAB COUNTRIES THAT NEGATIVE CERTIFICATES OF ORIGIN ARE NO LONGER REQUIRED BY MOST ARAB COUNTRIES FOR EXPORT DOCUMENTATION.

-- ALSO, MANY US COMPANIES, ESPECIALLY THE LARGEST AND BEST ESTABLISHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST MARKET, ARE HAVING LITTLE DIFFICULTY IN TRANSACTING BUSINESS WITHOUT USING BOYCOTT CERTIFICATIONS.

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8. BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: TEXT FOR CIRCULATION:

A) TO DISCOURAGE LIBYAN SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM THE US HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING STEPS.

-- ALL EXPORTS OF US ARMS TO LIBYA HAVE BEEN BANNED, INCLUDING AIRCRAFT ORDERED AND PAID FOR BY THE LIBYAN AIR FORCE.

-- THE SUPPLY OF SPARE PARTS AND MAINTENANCE SERVICES FOR MILITARY AIRCRAFT EARLIER SOLD THE LIBYANS HAS BEEN TERMINATED.

-- THE US IS PROVIDING NO MILITARY TRAINING TO LIBYAN ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL.

-- THE SALE OF CIVIL EQUIPMENT WITH A POSSIBLE MILITARY APPLICABILITY HAS BEEN PROHIBITED, AND REGULATIONS WHICH PERMITTED THE EXPORTS OF SUCH MATERIAL TO LIBYA ARE BEING AMENDED.

-- THE US HAS REFUSED TO AUTHORIZE THE SALE BY THIRD COUNTRIES TO LIBYA OF EQUIPMENT MANUFACTURED ABROAD UNDER LICENSE OR WITH AMERICAN COMPONENTS WHICH HAS SIGNIFICANT POTENTIAL FOR MILITARY USE.

-- THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS RECOMMENDED AGAINST EXPORT OF TWO BOEING 727 AIRCRAFT ORDERED BY LIBYAN ARAB AIRLINES.

B) THESE SANCTIONS REPRESENT THE LOSS OF MANY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN US EXPORTS TO LIBYA, A NATION WITH WHICH THE US HAS A TRADE IMBALANCE APPROACHING \$3 BILLION ANNUALLY. MOREOVER, THEY WERE IMPOSED IN FULL RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE QUADHAFI REGIME MIGHT RETALIATE AGAINST US ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN LIBYA, WHICH ARE SUBSTAN-
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TIAL. THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS CURRENTLY IS CONSIDERING
LEGISLATION WHICH COULD CALL FOR THE IMPOSITION OF ADDI-
TIONAL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST LIBYA AND OTHER STATES
AIDING TERRORISM. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE086211
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/RA:JMONTVILLE-NEA/AFN:JBISHOP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-3
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780145-0825
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197804109/baaafchy.tel
Line Count: 283
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a235bda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) USNATO 3173 (NOTAL) (B) LONDON 3602 (C) USNATO A-63 (NOTAL) (D) STATE 74861 (NOTAL) (E) STATE 77949 (NOTAL) (F) STATE 83012 (NOTAL)
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2829507
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> jms 970819
Subject: NATO EXPERTS REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE MAGHREB
TAGS: PGOV, US, XF, NAC, NATO
To: USNATO INFO LONDON MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a235bda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014